Blackwell
Reference Online

Bibliographic Details

The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought

Edited by: William Outhwaite
eISBN: 9780631221647
Print publication date: 2002

patriarchy

SYLVIA WALBY

Subject	Sociology
DOI:	10.1111/b.9780631221647.2002.x

Sections

- patriarchy
- Reading

Patriarchy is a social system in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Women are routinely disadvantaged in many areas of social life. The concept of patriarchy emphasizes the interconnectedness of different aspects of gender inequality. Theories of patriarchy analyse the division of interests between most men and most women produced by the social structuring of gender relations. GENDER is a relationship of power and inequality, not merely of difference.

There are a number of further terms that have very similar meaning to patriarchy. These include gender regime, gender order and sex–gender system. They are similar in pointing to the interconnectedness of different domains of gender inequality. They differ in not necessarily invoking the notion of inequality and power as intrinsic to this system of social relations.

Analyses of patriarchy vary as to whether men's position as head of the household and family unit is seen as the key to their ability to dominate, or whether the institutional sites of men's power are conceived more broadly. The more traditional analysis tended to focus on men as head of household, while the more recent analysis has tended to take in a broader range of sites of patriarchy. The wider range of social relations through which men dominate women includes reproduction, violence, sexuality, work, culture and the state (Walby, 1990).

Some writers focus on one area of patriarchal power, while others include a wide range. A few of these make reference to the biological aspects of reproduction, for instance, Firestone (1970), but this is uncommon,

especially in more recent writings. A more frequent focus is the control of women through sexuality, with reference to the institution of heterosexuality and to pornography and sexualized violence. Male violence as the basis of male control over women is the focus of some analyses of patriarchy. Other theories have a more materialist emphasis, with an analysis of how men typically benefit from women's labour; both as unpaid housework and as poorly paid work in the labour market.

Analyses of patriarchy have been sometimes been integrated with analyses of class and capitalism. In particular, dual-systems theory analysed the intersection of patriarchy and capitalism, and the various combinations of gender and class relations (Hartmann, 1979).

The concept of patriarchy is controversial. Some critics have suggested that it leads to an underemphasis on other forms of social inequality such as class and 'race'. Others allege that the theory inevitably leads to essentialism, false universalism and ahistoricism. That is, critics have suggested that the concept has difficulty dealing with the differences in the nature of gender relations between cultures, ethnic groups and historical periods. In response to these criticisms more nuanced analyses of patriarchy have been developed. These typically invoke a wider range of sites of patriarchal relations than some of the early formulations and this are better able to deal with the complexity of different forms of gender inequality (Bhopal, 1997).

The chief usefulness of the concept is that it provides a theorization of gender relations that has a focus on power and on the interconnectedness of different forms of gender inequality. It has proved useful for the analysis of changes in gender inequality at a macro level, as in attempts to understand the links between globalization and gender, such as in the work of Castells (1997 and development and gender (Mies, 1986).

Bhopal, K. 1997: *Gender, 'Race' and Patriarchy: a Study of South Asian Women*.

Castells, M. 1997: *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture: Volume II: The Power of Identity*.

Hartmann, H. 1979: Capitalism, patriarchy and job segregation by sex. In Zillah Eisenstein ed. *Capitalist Patriarchy*.

Mies, M. 1986: *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*.

Walby, S. 1990: *Theorizing Patriarchy*.

Cite this article

Copyright

Blackwell
Reference Online

Bibliographic Details

Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology

Edited by: George Ritzer
eISBN: 9781405124331
Print publication date: 2007

Update: 2009–04–30 Revision History ↓

Sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault: Toward conceptual clarity

Juanita M. Firestone and Richard J. Harris

Subject	Gender Studies Sociology of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality » Sociology of Sexuality
Key-Topics	sexuality
DOI:	10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x

Sections

- Sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault: Toward conceptual clarity
- REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Within many hierarchical, bureaucratic systems, cohesion is very highly valued, and divulging negative information about fellow employees or about the organization in general is taboo. Interestingly, cohesion has been used to exclude rather than include individuals seen as "outsiders" or "troublemakers" (e.g., women, race/ethnic minority members). Both sexism and sexual harassment have been used to keep individuals in their place within many organizational models. In addition, sexual assault has been used as a technique of control by those with power over those with less power, especially in closed organizational systems. While each of these processes can be used independently, they are often used in combination to provide a potent system of organizational control. The definition of sexual harassment includes such a wide spectrum of behaviors, including legally defined harassment, sexist behaviors, and sexual assault, that these behaviors may overlap in real-life situations. Thus, there is still a lack of conceptual distinction among them to enable individuals to sort through the various conceptualizations.

Sexism

One aspect of organizational culture derives from the sex makeup of the employees. It seems clear that sexual harassment is more prevalent in male-dominated occupations (e.g., police, professional sports, military), and that the US military is a male-dominated organization. Why might there be more sexual harassment in male-dominated work settings such as the military? It has been suggested that work settings that place a high value on "masculine" qualities such as power, toughness, dominance, aggressiveness, and competitiveness may contribute to negative attitudes toward women. In addition, there is some evidence that fields such as the military may attract individuals who possess more traditional gender-role attitudes. In such a setting, women may be seen as disrupting the masculine camaraderie that infuses the culture of the occupation. In the military setting in particular, women may be perceived as threatening the "warrior culture" that some believe is necessary to maintain a ready and effective fighting force. In turn, individuals who possess more negative attitudes toward women may be more tolerant of sexual harassment. Importantly, people are likely to take official actions when they are certain that the situation will be perceived as sexual harassment by others.

Assumptions about how women and men differ with regard to work-related skills, attitudes, and knowledge have been around for a long time. For the most part those attitudes portray women as deficient with respect to male peers. For example, the pop-psych literature is replete with self-help advice to help women overcome their deficiencies by "succeeding at corporate gamesmanship," "breaking into the boys' club," and "improving communication styles, and supervising skills." Recent examples focus on how to be "feminine and still succeed in the workplace." These attitudes often translate, whether intentionally or not, into sexist behaviors because the advice translates into using stereotypical feminine wiles to get what you want.

Sometimes labeled gender harassment, sexism includes generalized sexual or sexist comments or behaviors that insult, degrade, or embarrass women. Sexist attitudes are typically based on stereotypical views of gender – appropriate behavior. As conceptualized by Bem (1974), typical masculine traits include rationality, risk taking, and aggression. Feminine traits include nurturance, emotional expressiveness, and self-subordination. These attitudes result in the stereotypical beliefs that women are inferior to men (particularly in the paid workplace), and that men have the prerogative to initiate sexual behavior of any kind and to use pressure to achieve it when necessary. For example, McElroy, Morrow, and Mullen (1996) found that blacks and women are more likely than white males to perceive that a promotion decision is based on unfair criteria (e.g., "she slept her way to the top" or if a black is promoted it constitutes "reverse discrimination"). Such perceived inequities are associated with reduced job satisfaction, work attendance, and organizational commitment. Thus, an environment can be sexist, based on perceptions of inequity, although the behaviors creating that situation may not constitute the legal definition of sexual harassment.

Sexism relates to both sexual harassment and sexual assault because people with sexist attitudes are unlikely to believe a target who says the behavior was unwanted, and may blame the target for having in some way encouraged the perpetrator. It may be that sexism is not a single concept; rather, attitudes toward women may be ambivalent, comprising "hostile sexism" and "benevolent sexism." Hostile sexism can be described as the negative attitude toward women that is commonly associated with sexist prejudices. In contrast, benevolent sexism can be characterized as a set of attitudes that are sexist in their manifestation of stereotypical roles for women but are maintained to be subtly positive and affectionate toward women. Ambivalent sexists reconcile their hostile and benevolent attitudes by differentiating between "good" and "bad" women. Thus, benevolence is targeted at those women that conform to traditional roles ("good girls"), whereas hostility is reserved for women in nontraditional roles ("bad girls"). This differentiation between "good" and "bad" subcategories of women appears to provide a means for men to justify and excuse aggressive behaviors toward some women. Such behaviors may include sexual harassment and sexual assault.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment in the workplace has been the focus of much academic research across disciplines as well as much media attention. The US Merit Systems Protection Board's original definition of sexual harassment was "deliberate or repeated unsolicited verbal comments, gestures, or physical contact of a sexual nature which are unwelcome" (1981). The initial definition was expanded to include any conduct of a sexual nature which created "an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment" (USMSPB 1995). Even the expanded definition is

criticized for being so broad, however, that empirical and theoretical inconsistencies arising from specific studies remain. Sexual harassment in the workplace is currently characterized as consisting of two forms, both of which are defined legally. The *quid pro quo* type is the easiest to identify, and although frequencies are low, it is the most likely to be challenged. This form includes the exchange of work–related benefits or consequences for sexual favors through bribes, threats, or even physical force.

The second form, environmental harassment, includes unwanted sexualized actions that alter, interfere with, or affect one's work performance by creating a hostile and offensive work climate. The definition of this second type of harassment is considered less clear. One problem has been how to ascertain whether an act is "unwanted"; another has been deciding on whom the burden of proof should fall to show that the action was against the individual's will. Expectations of economic losses and/or psychological pain due to the harassment have also been an issue. Some courts demand that targets have proof of both before claims of environmental harassment can be made. Two Supreme Court rulings may help put to rest the belief that assessments of environmental harassment are subjective. First, the "reasonable" woman standard grants any woman classified as reasonable to assess whether she is being subject to harassment or to acceptable behaviors, e.g., teasing, fun jokes, and so on. Second, the ruling that "psychological stress" does not have to be documented by medical professionals establishes precedent for allowing women to interpret their own experiences within the boundaries of the organization. As noted by Ormerod et al. (2005) in their conclusion:

> Empirical research to date suggests that reducing sexual harassment and other unprofessional, gender–related behavior, recruiting and promoting women into positions of leadership, creating gender–balanced work environments, and creating an *organizational climate where complaints of sexual harassment and assault are taken seriously, responded to swiftly, and where such behavior is sanctioned, can help to reduce the occurrence of sexual assault*. [emphasis added]

Definitions are sometimes inconsistent and often discipline–specific, which further confounds clear conceptualizations (Terpstra & Baker 1986). Recognizing that considerable overlap in conceptualizations exists, most researchers use the definitions specific to their discipline. Sociologists focus on organizational and societal–level environmental variables (e.g., power/status differences); psychologists focus on individual variables (e.g., sexist attitudes); economists look at labor market issues (e.g., who benefits?); while organizational/business studies use work structures (e.g., formal/informal hierarchies, power dynamic, organization culture). As a result, the body of literature available may be so restricted that it is only useful within a specific discipline or for a single explicit purpose.

Because the defining criteria for identifying sexual harassment have been "uninvited and unwanted," other complicating factors lie in the perceptions and evaluations of being "unwanted." Definitions of "acceptable" versus "unwanted" as well as their visions of effective policies are likely to differ vastly between the perpetrators and the targets as well as by whether they are men or women (Dougherty 2006; Loredo, Reid, & Deaux 1995).

Perhaps most problematic is that virtually any behavior, including requests for dates, pressure for sexual activities, comments, jokes, and attempted and forcible rape, can constitute sexual harassment. Many argue that individual definitions of these behaviors as sexual harassment could vary systematically depending on individual characteristics as well as the specific contexts in which the behavior occurred. In other words, some argue that sexual harassment appears highly subjective, and the experiences of women and men are variable and open to alternative explanations (Dougherty 2006).

The fact remains that the definition of sexual harassment includes a wide spectrum of behaviors, including legally defined harassment, sexist behaviors, and sexual assault, and that these behaviors may overlap in real–life situations. Thus, there is still a lack of conceptual distinction among them as well as a paucity of research attempting to sort through the various conceptualizations. This research focuses on creating conceptual distinctions among sexual harassment, sexist behaviors, and sexual assault and delineating the empirical relationships among them.

Finally, while typically defined as an *individual*–level issue, the organizational context may be the key to truly

understanding the perpetuation of harassment in spite of policies designed to prevent such behaviors (Firestone & Harris 1994). For example, an organization's culture includes the value and belief system, including regularities, norms, rules for working and getting along, and the organizational climate or how it feels to work in that organization (Schein 1990). Essentially it is the organization's social system, as enacted by management and employees. The ways in which organizational culture is structured have considerable impact on how people behave in an organizational setting. With respect to sexual harassment, individual behaviors are likely to be the primary cultural manifestations. How sexual harassment policies (reporting procedures, training) are implemented is impetus for the stories employees tell about an organization's willingness to eradicate or perpetuate sexual harassment. How an organization responds to sexual harassment creates a social system (culture) in which employees make sense of their environment and that they use to guide or control their own behaviors (Hulin, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow 1996). Thus, exposing sexual harassment at its causal level may require examination of the organization's culture.

Sexual Assault

The term sexual assault has been used to describe a wide range of nonconsensual sexual behaviors from kissing and/or touching to coerced penetration by physical force or threat of force. While most people have a "script" about rape which plays in their mind, proving a case legally is typically not as clear cut. For example, how do you show someone was forced against his/her will? The conceptualizations of "bad girls" who deserve bad things and "good girls" who need protection from bad things strongly impact that script. To coerce someone into having sex requires intent on the part of the perpetrator – accidentally doing something which causes another to have sex with you is not rape, regardless of the willingness of the victim. Furthermore, if a victim is considered incapable of giving consent (due to age, mental/physical status, intoxication, etc.), the act may also be considered rape or sexual assault. To confuse matters even more, attempted rape is often considered the equivalent of actual rape. Furthermore, sometimes rape is considered as an extreme form of sexual harassment. Whether rape is subsumed under sexual harassment, or sexual harassment is considered a form of rape, conceptual distinctions between the two become clouded and provide some with the evidence to contend that sexually wrong behaviors are in the eye of the beholder.

While most people believe that rape in the workplace is uncommon, some researchers contended that in the past as many as 51,000 rapes/sexual assaults occurred in the workplace each year. Being sexually assaulted in the workplace not only leads to physical injuries and psychological trauma, many victims develop symptoms similar to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This reaction may be compounded when the environment where the assault occurred is a military workplace where women are sometimes viewed as "outsiders" or as "bad girls." In either case, such women are sometimes perceived as deserving whatever happens to them. Targets who experience PTSD symptoms often attempt to avoid the place where the rape occurred, thus contributing to low job satisfaction and commitment, and increased absenteeism and turnover.

The definition of sexual assault and rape has evolved from one designed to control "competing male interests in controlling sexual access to females, rather than protecting women's interests in controlling their own bodies and sexuality" to a code focused on the use of force and lack of consent. In situations where the issue of "mistake of fact as to consent" is raised or becomes an issue in the case, the statute explains that the term means that the accused held, as a result of ignorance or mistake, an incorrect belief that the other person consented. That belief has to be reasonable under all the circumstances. The accused's state of intoxication is not relevant to any so-called "mistake of fact." It is a mistaken belief that finding the target consented must be that which "a reasonably careful, ordinary, prudent, *sober* [emphasis added] adult would have had under the circumstances at the time of the offense." In this context, sober refers to serious or thoughtful rather than not incapacitated by alcohol.

Findings from recent research indicate that those individuals experiencing various forms of unprofessional, gender-related behaviors (crude/offensive behaviors, unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion, sexist behaviors) were also more likely to report experiencing attempted and actual rape, and increasing numbers of incidents increases the likelihood of sexual assault being reported.

It seems likely that an organizational context in which sexist attitudes and environmental harassment may still

be unofficially condoned and institutionally supported as a process for excluding women (and men considered "outsiders," e.g., race/ethnic minorities, sexual minorities) from becoming part of an organization which values cohesion and *esprit de corps* sends a message to some individuals that sexism is acceptable, and that engaging in the more egregious *quid pro quo* forms of harassment as well as sexual assault are acceptable behaviors.

Importantly, findings suggest that the context in which men and women perform their workplace duties is a key factor in whether or not individuals report any form of sexual harassment or sexual assault. In particular, when environmental harassment (and unwanted sexual attention) are reported, sexual assault is very likely to be reported (Firestone & Harris 1994, 2009). Research clearly indicates the importance of gender relations for enabling organizations to successfully carry out their missions. Towards that end, it is important to understand sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault as both separate elements and as demarcations along a continuum of behaviors which exclude those considered "outsiders."

SEE ALSO: Rape/Sexual Assault as Crime; Sexism; Sexual Harassment; Sexual Politics; Sexual Violence and Rape; Sexuality and the Law

Bem, S. L. (1974) The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* (42) : 155–62.

Dougherty, D. S. (2006) Gendered Constructions of Power during Discourse about Sexual Harassment: Negotiating Competing Meanings. *Sex Roles* (54) : 495–507.

Firestone, J. M. & Harris, R. J. (1994) Sexual Harassment in the US Military: Individualized and Environmental Contexts. *Armed Forces and Society* (21) : 25–43.

Firestone, J. M. & Harris, R. J. (2009) Sexual Harassment in the US Military Reserve Component: A Preliminary Analysis. *Armed Forces and Society*, in press.

Hulin, C. L., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (1996) Organizational Influences on Sexual Harassment. In: Stockdale, M. S. (Ed.), *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: Perspectives, Frontiers, and Response Strategies*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Loredo, C., Reid, A., & Deaux, K. (1995) Judgments and Definitions of Sexual Harassment by High School Students. *Sex Roles* (32) (1/2): 29–45.

McElroy, J. C., Morrow, P. C., & Mullen, E. J. (1996) Intraorganizational mobility and work-related attitudes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* (17) : 363–74.

Ormerod, A. J., Fitzgerald, L. F., Collinsworth, L. L., Lawson, A. K., Lytell, M., Perry, L. A., & Wright, C. V. (2005) Sexual Assault in the Military: Context Factors and Measurement Issues. Retrieved July 18, 2007 from www.internationalmta.org/Documents/2005/2005107P.pdf.

Schein, E. H. (1990) Organizational Culture. *American Psychologist* (45) : 109–19.

Terpstra, D. E. & Baker, D. D. (1986) A Framework for the Study of Sexual Harassment. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* (1) : 17–34.

US Merit Systems Protection Board (USMSPB) (1987) *Sexual Harassment in the Federal Government: An Update*. Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office.

US Merit Systems Protection Board (USMSPB) (1995) *Sexual Harassment in the Federal Workplace: Trends, Progress, Continuing Challenges*. Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office.

Cite this article

Firestone, Juanita M. and Richard J. Harris. "Sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault: Toward conceptual clarity." *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Ritzer, George (ed). Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Blackwell Reference Online. 28 October 2009 <http://www.blackwellreference.com.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/subscriber/tocnode?
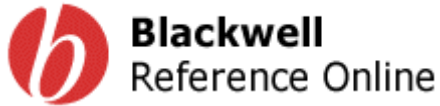
Bibliographic Details

Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology

Edited by: George Ritzer
eISBN: 9781405124331
Print publication date: 2007

Update: 2007-02-15 Revision History ↓

Gendered Aspects of War and International Violence

SHAHIN GERAMI AND MELODYE LEHNERER

Subject	Gender Studies Sociology » Sociology of Sex, Gender, and Sexuality, Sociology of War, Peace, and Conflict
DOI:	10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x

Sections

- Gendered Aspects of War and International Violence
- REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Research has shown that gender is an integral element of violence (Tiger & Fox 1971; Elshtain & Tobias 1987; Goldstein 2001). Most cases of violence are committed by men against men. While women can be combatants in armed conflicts (Enloe 2000; Goldstein 2001), they are more likely to be victims than organizers and perpetrators of international violence. The intersection of social categories of gender, class, and nationality informs the effects of international violence for groups and individuals. Working-class and peasant women pay higher prices, both directly and indirectly, for international violence. In violence between states, women of the South are victimized more often, more harshly, and pay higher costs during and after wartime. In fact, the benefits of peace reach them later and in smaller amounts.

International violence is collectively planned and systematically implemented by a group against another for political and economic goal(s). Four types of international violence are identified here. First, there are empire-building, multinational wars. Second, there are bilateral wars between two nation-states most often over territorial disputes. A third type of international violence results from liberation movements when the colonized fight the colonizers for their sovereignty. Revolutions against a tyrannical government fall under this category because they frequently involve foreign players and interests. Lastly, there are civil wars that occur within a

nation–state. International forces often influence civil wars.

With regard to international violence, World War I marks a point in military history in which systematic and deliberate attacks on civilians became a pronounced strategy of war (Barstow 2000). Moving from the trench campaigns of World War I to the massive aerial bombings of World War II to more contemporary international conflicts of varying sizes, the ratio of combatant to civilian casualties has changed from 8 : 1 to 1 : 1 to 1 : 8 (Barstow 2000: 3). The great majority of these civilian casualties are women and those whom they care for – children and the elderly. This time period is also significant because, beginning with World War I, the "home front and the war front became intimately connected" (Goldstein 2001: 9).

The reach of new technology allowed targeting goals beyond the front line. Large–scale street battles in urban areas became possible and a strategy of the war itself, not just for control of cities after the conquest. Unlike earlier periods, in which mass killing of civilians was more a consequence of the war, the reach of new technology allowed civilian targets to be integrated into war planning. Most importantly, the social distinction of public and private that had kept women away from the battlefront and its effects was obscured. Women, children, and the elderly, along with able–bodied men, were constructed as the enemy and subject to annihilation. The violent consequences of this change for women were twofold: bodily injury and social role disruption.

VIOLENT ASSAULT: BODILY INJURY AND SOCIAL ROLE DISRUPTION

"Mass rape has long been a deliberate strategy of military leaders. By marking the raped women as 'polluted,' mass rapes destroy families and weaken communal life" (Barstow 2000: 45). The violence of bodily assault includes physical injury from a weapon, torture, malnourishment, disease, and, most noteworthy, sexual assault. Sexual assaults on women can be an offensive or a defensive strategy. Sexual assaults as offensive strategy are planned and executed to destroy the enemy, his house, and his future offspring. Mass rape as a defensive tactic is carried out with the hope of increasing the invaders' descendants. Murder and maiming of women destroys the home base, demolishes the soldiers' morale, and often cripples the backbone of the war machinery.

When the Germans invaded Belgium in August of 1914, and as they marched through, reports of rape are documented along with villages burned and civilians bayoneted (Brownmiller 1975: 41). A clear–cut pattern emerged: rape of women in war is not for sexual pleasure but for control and therefore has propaganda purposes to humiliate and demoralize the enemy. Similarly, the victimized community may exaggerate the atrocities to mobilize the combatants to avenge the dishonoring of women.

What did not get public attention was the huge price that women paid indirectly through social role disruption. It is well documented that French and Belgian families – men, women, and children – lost homes and lives in the first three months of the war. Less well documented are the experiences of Russian women. The Russian women served at the front in Women's Death Battalions, worked the field, served as caretakers at the back of the lines, and lived in destitute conditions during the war, the 1917 Revolution, and the aftermath of these events (Clements et al. 1991). It is this aspect of international violence, disruption of women's roles, which contributes to communal disruption.

Socially, disruption of women's roles as caregivers and network organizers destroys the social fabric of the enemy's home base. Planned scarcity, economic blockades, and disruption of basic services harm women physically and mentally, making their tasks harder to perform. Shortage of basic medicine or water sanitation means sick and starving children for distraught women to mind. The social disruption of women's roles has far–reaching consequences for women's and girls' lives. Not only is the impact in the moment, it is also for generations to come.

SEXUAL AND PHYSICAL ASSAULT: THE PRIMARY CONSEQUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE

In 1993, the UN Commission on Human Rights recognized the systematic rape, forced slavery, forced pregnancy, and forced prostitution of women as war crimes (Barstow 2000: 237). In 1996, this recognition led

to the indictment of eight Bosnian Serb military and police officers solely on the charges of raping Bosnian Muslim women (Enloe 2000: 135). Over time, five patterns of sexual assault have been identified, regardless of the ethnicity of the perpetrators or the victims. These patterns were officially identified in the Final Report of the UN Commission of Experts on Serbia (1994). Nevertheless, they hold true for any time period and any type of international conflict. Not all patterns of sexual violence may be used in any one conflict, but often a combination of patterns does apply.

In the first pattern, looting and intimidation accompany sexual assault prior to widespread fighting. Assaults take place in women's homes and in front of family members. In addition, rape may occur in public. The intent is to terrorize local residents in hopes they will flee or passively submit (Final Report 1994). The second pattern of sexual violence occurs during fighting. Once attacking forces have secured a town or village, those men, women, and children who remain are rounded up and then divided by sex and age. Women and girls are raped in their homes or in public. Those who survive are transported to detention facilities. The intent of this practice is to traumatize those detained as well as those who escape. Victims and witnesses are unlikely to return to the scene of such events (Final Report 1994). The third pattern of sexual violence occurs in detention facilities or other sites where refugees are kept. Again, the detainees in these "collection centers" are divided by sex and age. Men of fighting age are tortured, executed, or sent to work camps. The women who remain are raped or sexually assaulted by soldiers, camp guards, paramilitaries, and civilians. There are two variations to this pattern of assault dependent upon location and visibility. In the first scenario, women are selected and raped at a separate location from the "camp" in which they are housed. Sometimes they are returned; other times they are killed. Alternately, women are raped at the location where they are detained in front of other detainees. On occasion, detainees, both women and men, are forced to assault each other. The obvious goals are multiple: humiliation, demoralization, and/or ultimately death.

A fourth pattern of sexual assault occurs in camps that are specifically identified as rape/death camps. These camps are set up for the purpose of punishing women through sexual assault and other forms of torture (Salzman 2000). In the case of Serbia, these camps were specifically set up to impregnate women with the "conqueror's seed" (Salzman 2000). The intent of this practice is to achieve ethnic cleansing through women's reproductive capabilities. The fifth and last pattern of sexual assault is the establishment of camps as sites of prostitution. Women are held in these camps to "service" soldiers returning from the front lines. In most instances, the women in these camps are eventually killed (Final Report 1994). This is a common practice wherever there are military bases in occupied territories.

SOCIAL ROLE DISRUPTION: A SECONDARY CONSEQUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE

While the sexual abuse of women by the enemy has received some attention by international tribunals and can possibly be compensated for, the many other categories of harm that are more widespread, more intense, and have more long-term effects are rarely documented, defined as war crimes, or accounted for in war reparations. International violence impoverishes masses, and among these masses women carry greater responsibilities and receive fewer opportunities. Such practices as the bombing of residential areas, home invasions, and economic blockades prevent women from carrying out their roles as wives and mothers. When homes are destroyed to disperse men, women's domain is destroyed and families displaced. When economic blockades lead to planned scarcity of food, water, medicine, or population movements, women refugees, as caregivers, face more hardships than male combatants whose task it is to fight and to survive.

Women's injuries in the war from bombing, landmine explosion, street combat, unexploded ordinance (ammunition), and chemical exposure are of lower priority in the scarcity of health care and rehabilitation of the wounded. The secondary physical and psychological sufferings due to stress and scarcity of the war are not considered in war casualties, while men's shell shocks are documented. As in any period of stress, a side-effect of post-war trauma is domestic abuse (Amnesty International 2005). Women are told, and they believe, that their suffering is part of their role, and complaining makes them selfish at best and traitors at worst.

CONCLUSION

While the focus here has been on immediate and long-term physical and social harms of international violence for women, international violence goes beyond harms to women. Men are forced to fight and, when they refuse, are drafted, kidnapped, and killed more frequently than women. Furthermore, the duality of soldier-prostitute, soldier-wife, or soldier-mother overlooks the multifaceted roles that women perform in international violence. For example, Cynthia Enloe discusses "militarized women" in her book *Maneuvers* (2000). These militarized women include prostitutes, rape victims, mothers, and wives of military personnel, nurses, women in the military, and feminist activists. Simplistic dualities also overlook women's agency as individuals or collectivities (Gerami & Lehnerer 2001). Women suffer, but also gain in international violence in terms of economic independence, individual freedom of actions and mobility, and feminist consciousness. International violence puts social mores in a flux, allowing women to engage in activities not permitted before, expand their public role, and acquire greater responsibility and, with it, greater decision-making ability and empowerment.

This deconstruction of the binary mode of gender and international violence also applies to any analytical evaluation of gender and peace. Gender narratives of men/soldiers and women/peacemakers on the one hand ignores the role of men in peace movements, and on the other hand implies gender determinism of violence and peace. As Ruddick (1989) reminds us, even anti-militaristic feminism can fall prey to this binary interpretation of war and peace.

SEE ALSO: Gender, Development and; Gender Ideology and Gender Role Ideology; Gender Oppression; International Gender Division of Labor; Rape Culture; Third World and Postcolonial Feminisms/Subaltern; Traffic in Women; War

Amnesty International (2005) Iraq: Iraqi Women – The Need For Protective Measures. Online. web.amnesty.org/library/index/engmde140042005.

Barstow, A. L. (Ed.) (2000) *War's Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes Against Women*. Pilgrim Press, Ohio.

Brownmiller, S. (1975) *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. Simon & Schuster, New York.

Clements, E., Engel, B., & Worobec, C. (1991) *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Elshtain, J. B. & Tobias, S. (1987) *Women, Militarism, and War*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD.

Enloe, C. (2000) *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Gerami, S. & Lehnerer, M. (2001) Women's Agency and Household Diplomacy: Negotiating Fundamentalism. *Gender and Society* (15) : 556-73.

Goldstein, J. (2001) *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Ruddick, S. (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. Beacon Press, Cambridge.

Salzman, T. (2000) Rape Camps, Forced Impregnation, and Ethnic Cleansing. In: Barstow, A. L. (Ed.), *War's Dirty Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes Against Women*. Pilgrim Press, Ohio, pp. 63-92.

Tiger, L. & Fox, R. (1971) *The Imperial Animal*. Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, New York.

UN Security Council (1994) *Final Report of the Commission of Experts*. United Nations, New York.

Cite this article